1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

inheritance are poorly formulated. The amount of inheritable goods is small, the most valu- 428
able being the trap line, but no cases of real property inheritance were recorded. Indians spoke of their children or their sons-in-law receiving a trap line but in no case had anyone attempted to make provisions for such inheritance. Since men usually take up residence in the wife's country, it is reasonably likely that inheritance would fall to either a man's daughters or to his sons-in-law. Hans, Old Man's son-in-law, opined that if his father-in-law died, he would obtain ownership of the trap line which he was now using; after him the line would go to his brother-in-law, or preferably, to his brothers, who would then continue to support his wife. This, however, was largely wishful thinking. Old Man himself felt that his trap line should go to both his sons-in-law. His statement, however, was not intended as a testamentary disposition, and there is no evidence for believing he was much concerned with the matter. River Joe's attitudes regarding the marital residence of his children may be recalled as pointing to one individual's desire to insure the inheritance of his trap line by his children. Such an expectation contrasts with Old Man's readiness to have his property pass to sons-in-law and emphasizes the undefinalized patterns of inheritance. It must be remembered, however, that Old Man has no sons and only a fifteen year old unmarried daughter. He also has two sons-in-law already trapping on his line, whereas three of River Joe's sons-in-law have set themselves up independently.[9]

Other goods left by a deceased are generally kept by the surviving spouse who may sell them or apportion them among her children according to sex, a woman's objects going to girls, and a man's to boys. Inherited property so disposed of includes mainly dogs, guns, traps, snowshoes, tools, jewelry, and clothing. A deceased child's possessions, including clothes, are divided among the siblings. No report was heard of disputes about inheritance.

Government

Lacking governmental institutions of their own, the Kaska Indians are subject to the 128
Dominion Government and, depending on their location, to the local government of Yukon Territory or the Province of British Columbia. In the present section we are chiefly interested in the Indian's relationship to these governments. We will emphasize the individual's attitudes toward federal and local authority rather than discuss the functions of these authorities in any detail.

The Kaska Indians are, with a few exceptions, wards of the Dominion of Canada. The 657
exceptions are the relatively few women who, having legally married white men, were enfranchised as citizens and the one or two young men who have had their names removed from the "Indian list," i.e., successfully petitioned for the status of citizenship. Such individuals often deny that they are Indians and emphasize their equal-to-white status.

In general, the people regard the obstruction, government, as a "boss" whose function- 641
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[9] In a letter dated January 1, 1944, F. H. Butler, Game Commissioner of British Columbia states: "Should the holder of a trap-line die without making any provision with regard to the transfer of his line, then the line and his assets automatically come under the control of the Official Administrator for the district, and generally such official contacts this office and has the trap-line transferred to a relative of the deceased holder, or he asks for permission to sell the trap-line and equipment thereon or that any money derived therefrom may be turned over the Estate." In Yukon Territory, where trap lines are not registered, transmission following death is probably handled by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, when called to their attention.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

641 are manifold. Thus, referring to the impending visit of the forestry inspector from White-
183 horse, Edward Prince once remarked that everything has a boss: "People have boss, gone have boss, even stick [that is, timber] have boss!" To understand the attitudes of the Indian toward governmental authority, the significance of that word, "boss," must be thoroughly understood.

183 Within the native community, no man can exercise absolute power over any other adult.
621 Parents are "boss their children," and it is even said that a man is "boss his wife," but the authority of these roles is not arbitrary and rarely abused. Furthermore, between adults authority has no meaning. An individual responds to the originations of another individual only when he stands to gain by such submission or when he cannot tactfully refuse agreement without endangering the harmony of his relationship to the other person. Obedience of an adult to the originations of another member of the Indian community never occurs because the originator possesses a status which of itself requires submission. Between Indians of equal status, that is, of relatively the same degree of maturity and of the same sex, a thorough-going laissez *faire* prevails. Considered by itself, the Indian community is an atomistic society in which every adult claims autonomy and independence. For example, Old Man once sent a message to his neighbor, Louis Mam, asking the latter to join him in a moose hunt. Louis went on the hunt but almost immediately decided to turn back, because he was worried about his infant son's health. When appraised of this decision, Old Man said in effect: "It's up to you. I'm an old man and I can't see to shoot moose. I hoped we would hunt together but you do what's right. It's up to you." These last words, "Up to you," are frequently heard when adults discuss plans and come to a disagreement. A person with richer experience may state his reasons for disapproving of a projected course of action, but if a younger man does not choose to heed the advice, the matter will usually be dropped. Obviously there are men who try to make their will prevail, who are dominant and assertive. Such men may hold authority within a group of brothers and their wives, but throughout the rest of the community they are generally disliked.

183 The English verb, "to boss," is used by the Kaska with two different connotations.
[196] When used in the sense of exerting authority it often connotes criticism or disapproval. In its wider meaning, however, the term denotes the right and ability to order and care for an
657 object, animal, place, or person. Usually, as we have indicated, government is conceived of as a boss in the first sense, as a meddling and bothersome authority whose sovereignty is sometimes even branded as illegitimate. Thus Old Kean complained vigorously that the governments did not help the Indians. He denied governmental sovereignty over the area, and referred to the legitimate authority of a Ground Boss who would someday soon come to regain his dominion. No Indian admits or accepts the authority of a government to censor his drinking. Such authority is perceived as presumptuous and autocratic. In terms of the prevailing attention of Kaska social life, it is almost inevitable that any activities of the Dominion and local governments in pursuit of their regulative functions should be resented and productive of anxiety. This situation was especially aggravated during the summer of 1945, when reports reached Lower Post that a wire fence had been erected around the Tahltan Indian Reserve at Telegraph Creek, 150 miles south of Lower Post. Although the ostensible reason for the fence was to demarcate Indian lands and protect

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

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children from the passage road's truck traffic, the Kaska Indians reacted to the fencing by construing it as a move to keep the Tahltan imprisoned on the reserve.

Only so far as such governmental services as aid to indigent Indians, free hospitalization, medical care, and gifts are concerned, do the Kaska accept the political authority of the whites. When these services are found inadequate or are, for any reason, interrupted, resentment is quickly expressed. Old Man reported that a former Indian Agent had given people fish line, nets, and cartridges. Under this agent's administration indigent Indians had also received not only rations, but a sizable winter outfit. Since then two new agents have served the community without giving gifts to the population. Many people therefore feel that the current Indian Agent is misdirecting government money which should go toward the Indians' general welfare. As a result of this chain of circumstances, the current agent is disliked and the governments are in little favor.[9] Louis Moon compared the position of the Kaska to the Indians of the United States. He had heard that in the latter country, the Indian is well treated, receiving adequate medical care as well as treaty money, while in Canada the natives are ignored.[10]

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As far as the individual can be said to conceive of his political status, he is mainly concerned with his rights and privileges as an Indian and inclined to overlook any duties or liabilities to which he may be politically subject. He comprehends government as an agency which is supposed to take care of all the Indians—not only of indigent people—to the extent of protecting their trap lines from encroachment, supplying them with food when game is scarce, and providing medical care and hospital facilities. Education is not as strongly endowed as these other rights. Furthermore he demands that on the Indian reserves, the people should be immune from government interference. Only in case of misbehavior on the "white reserve" is governmental authority recognized.

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The Indian reserves the duty of bearing arms. No Indians were drafted from the Kaska tribes in the course of the second World War, but several threats of conscription were rumored, all meeting with decidedly negative reactions from young men. According to Nida, the government did not trust the people well. Consequently the Indians have a hard life and therefore can have no business to fight in the "government's war." Conscription, he opined, should be reserved for people who enjoy nice homes and comfortable living. Little resentment is expressed toward paying taxes on trapped furs. The sums paid, however, are quite insignificant when compared to the total value of a catch. Old Man and others pointed out that the Indians were getting no return for these revenues, and again alluded to the former Indian Agent who had made a return to the people in the form of gifts.

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Political authority in the Kaska area is represented by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, the Provincial Police in British Columbia, and the Indian Agent. This authority is most immediate during the summer, when the community is grouped in Lower Post within

[9] Superficially the issues for applied anthropology seem plain: let the government assume the roles of a protecting and providing host and their legitimacy will be strengthened in native eyes. Actually such a role would be difficult to fulfill, although progress could certainly be made, first, by extending more abundant rations and medical care, and, second, by reducing, through tact, the severity of regulations.

[10] In northern British Columbia, most of Fort Nelson Indians do not receive treaty payments as they have never concluded treaties with the Canadian government.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

183 642 easy range of supervision. During the rest of the year, after the people have dispersed to their trapping districts, the authority becomes greatly relaxed. Only rarely do police operate far afield from the trading post.

622 Apart from the representatives of the provincial and Dominion law enforcement agencies, and the Indian Affairs Branch, political authority is nominally invested in native chiefs. Theoretically, each tribe or district is supposed to have a chief. Actually, only the Nelson people have such an executive and he is apparently expected to represent the whole Kaska nation. The chief is appointed by the Indian Agent for an indefinite period without remuneration. The duties of the chief are poorly defined, but he may be regarded as a liaison officer between the government officials and the people.

622 554 The current chief is personally a rather ineffectual person whose nominal authority in no way increases his prestige among the Indians. Since no prerogatives are attached to the office, it is not surprising that his status is not different from that of any other mature adult. The general attitude toward the chief is one of criticism for his failure to be more assertive in the service of his people. Old Kean expressed his opinion of the current chief in the following words: "Just like kid. Never talk nothing. Just sit down one place. That's why nobody go down there [i.e., to the east reserve]. Just stop alone." The fact that the chief does not belong to Old Kean's tribe is undoubtedly a factor influencing the latter's attitude. Observation failed to support the old man's statement that the east reserve was deliberately avoided by the bulk of the society.

622 When the chieftainship was vacant several years ago two Upper Liard men, Old Kean and Old Man, rejected offers of appointment to the position, the former because he felt himself to be too old and the latter because, not receiving payment for his service, he thought people would not listen to him. River Joe is reported to have sought the office unsuccessfully.

656 183 625 It has already been pointed out that the principal governmental activity, with which the Kaska have experience, is regulation. The most common subjects of such regulation are trapping and drinking. In the exercise of their regulatory functions the governments, through their agents, do not act in a manner calculated to allay the Indian's antipathy to authority. In the past there are said to have been police officers willing to overlook many minor infractions of laws applying to Indians, particularly those applying to drinking. Currently policemen, whose problems have greatly increased as a result of the opening of the area by the Alaska Highway and the subsequent influx of strangers, are much more rigorous. During the period of field work they frequently acted as detectives, patrolling Lower Post late at night and visiting camps in order to apprehend misdemeanors.[20] As a result most of the people have learned to be constantly wary of the police. Young men, even if innocent of any offense, often flee and hide when an officer is reported to be approaching. In short,

[20] It is not uncommon for provincial and Dominion police to enter a tent or cabin without a warrant if they have reason to suspect drinking. While Indians are unaware of the powers of a warrant, they resent the invasion of their privacy. From white men Indians have learned to question the right of the Mounted Police to operate in British Columbia, where a local police organization is maintained. The Mounties explain that they are free to operate anywhere in the Dominion of Canada when engaged in the enforcement of national revenue (liquor) and Indian regulations.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

the police are disliked and this attitude is readily transferred to the governmental stereotype constructed out of the individual's experience with law enforcement.

Law and Social Control

The atomistic structure of Kaska society is associated with a complete lack of formal social control beyond that which has been introduced following the absorption of the group into the larger white society. There is a tendency for the people to remain as much as possible aloof from the white man's law or system of justice, interpersonal grievances within the Indian community rarely being brought to the adjudication of white courts. As a result, all cases heard have as their complainants the police, Indian Agent or white men.

The principal individual incentives compelling adult conformity to the Indian and white expectations of behavior are guilt, shame, warnings, precepts, and fear of sanctions. Guilt and shame are inextricably related in patterning conformity to the Indian standard of values, although they are notably weak in making behavior conform to those expectations of the white society that apply to drinking, brewing, trapping, and hunting. Guilt and shame may be identified as conscience or superego pressure. Nitla defined this mechanism well when he said that an individual knows if he does evil. "He know it in his brain. Everything bum. You better stay alone." Conscience may often drive a person to make amends with the individual whom he has offended or it may prompt him to excuse his behavior, blaming it on somebody else. In the case of John Kean, who began living with his brother's wife, strong antipathy and aggression appeared to those people who, he thought with some reason, were criticizing his conduct. On one occasion he tried to slough off responsibility for his actions by laying the blame on Adele, the woman with whom he was living, and even on his brother. Forgiveness does not always erase the pang of conscience, as witness River Joe and Louis Mam the morning after a drinking party that had been accompanied by considerable violence and disorder. Although Mrs. Mam forgave her husband for having hurt her and River Joe was assured that his aggressive behavior had not seriously harmed anyone, both men appeared extremely shy and disconfited. They protested to the ethnographer how "sorry" they felt about the fracas which they had begun. In general, however, the Kaska superego does not seem harsh. Once the situation of default is past, the offense tends to be quickly forgotten. No evidence was adduced of a lingering sense of guilt (although it was looked for) nor of the long persistence of any need for atonement or expiation.

Rather slight effort is made within the native community to induce adult social conformity by means of warnings and precepts, although the missionaries and police make stronger use of this technique. The priest frequently warns Indians of imminent police and supernatural sanctions, while the police threaten suspected wrongdoers with fine and arrest. Because of the reluctance of an Indian to interfere in another person's business, warnings and advice are entirely limited to relatives and close friends. River Joe was afraid to exert himself in the relationship of John Kean and Nitla's wife, for fear that word of his interference would reach the Lower Pelly River tribe to which Adele belonged and whose members would then be "down" on him. Louis Mam also emphasized his powerlessness in this direction. "I can't say nothing. That not my business. I never tell nobody what to do." One of the main reasons for such lack of interference is the fear of arousing resentment and

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

626 157 hostility, but it also seems to spring from the individual's personal desire to be left alone; hence he respects another's privacy. Such attitudes, however, do not always inhibit gossip, which is derived from latent antagonism or which sometimes functions as a vehicle of social control.

681 626 The chief sanctions imposed by the Indian community include gossip, ostracism, and supernaturally derived insanity. Fine and arrest are the formal sanctions imposed by the white society. Gossip is the common result of failure to share grub and capital goods or control aggression, and also follows adultery. Since gossip is also an expression of interpersonal hostility, its functions are wider than social control. As might be expected, the dual uses of gossip succeed in complicating its utility as a means of social control. That is to say, people often use gossip more as a retaliatory device than as a sanction, and this in turn arouses antagonism in the wrongdoer even when it leads to a modification of behavior.

626 183 Ostracism is an ideal sanction which in practice tends to be avoided for fear of giving too direct offense to a defaulter. Nitla vouched for this ideal pattern when he said that an aggressive person, one who is "too much mean, swear, cranky," will be avoided by the people. "Nobody look after that kind of man. Everybody he don't want him." A man who becomes aggressive under alcohol may be quietly left out of a drinking party, although nobody would refuse an invitation to share his brew. On the other hand, if the offensive person appears on the scene of a beer drink, there is no way to prevent him from joining the group.

681 825 Insanity and deformity are supernaturally derived sanctions which are popularly feared to follow infractions of moiety exogamy and other forms of incest. Insanity is also believed to occur: "If you think about girl too much . . . If you want to play with girl too much."

626 158 697 Fines are feared not so much because they deprive one of wealth than because they involve appearance in court and expose the individual to questioning and public censure. Arrest is the most dreaded sanction, and this fear is reinforced by the frequently repeated story of one of River Joe's sons. Several years ago the youth was arrested on the complaint of a white man for a marital offense. Found guilty, he was sent to prison for one year. The incarceration is widely supposed to have affected him mentally, although other reports blame his subsequent break-down on a too intense interest in girls. At any rate, upon his release from prison, the young man showed psychotic reactions and once more had to be removed from the area for confinement. He is still a patient in a mental hospital near Vancouver. This incident is very much in the memory of the people and helps to confirm the strong fear of arrest. Nobody was jailed during the period of field work, one reason for this being the lack of jail facilities in Lower Post. In 1945, however, a jail was built in the town and the constable is reported to have promised that it would be readily used if necessity demanded. Imprisonment outside of the area is reserved for serious crimes involving sentences of a year or more.

68 [836] [738] Offenses against life and the person are rare. Premarital sexuality, especially when it occurs among sixteen and seventeen year olds, could be construed as a crime according to national law but tends to be ignored by the police (who would have difficulty securing evidence), and is not regarded as a serious offense by Indians. In the past, one or two girls at McDame Creek have been sent to reform school for pronounced sexual delinquency.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

Adultery probably occurs more frequently than is known, but the offense is generally kept within the family and from police knowledge. Incest may also occur more commonly than is suspected. This is implied in the statement of Old Kean, blaming several cases of physical deformity on the fact that people are too "mixed up." Within the Indian community, drunkenness is scarcely considered as criminal and is regarded as good "fun" so long as it does not lead to violence. Lying is disliked but is not strongly resented. Braggarts, who overindulge in "bullshit," are secretly criticized and ridiculed.

Many property offenses are condoned with the realization that the owner must be careful not to give the impression of selfishness. A few individuals are widely known for their tendency to steal and such people receive careful watching. Indian caches and those of white trappers remain free from violation except in case of hunger, and even then will only be approached by the rare person with a pronounced predilection for stealing. Government supplies along the Alaska Highway were rarely disturbed by Indians, who had abundant opportunity to observe instances of disrespect for such property by their white neighbors. The accusation of trap line infringement is sometimes voiced, especially with regard to beaver trapping. Some white men are almost paranoiac in their suspicion that Indians are poaching on their lines, but most white trappers regard such intense insecurity as an unwarranted quirk of thinking. Several years ago Edward Prince was arrested and fined for hunting beaver on a white man's territory. It is not unusual for a number of youths to plan the stealing of a brew that is ready for drinking. No moral hesitation and little secrecy is apparent in such behavior, as anyone would agree who has seen a tract of bush alive with people hunting for a reported beer keg. The finders try to finish as much of the beverage as possible before they in turn are discovered. Young children often show a predilection for stealing small goody trifles, like toys, but are severely punished if discovered by parents. In the case of property offenses by adults, discovery generally leads to recrimination, a demand for the return of the stolen goods, or suppressed hostility. Offenses connected with the nonfulfillment of credit obligations to traders are rare. Such defaults would quickly result in the blocking of further credit and few persons could sustain this penalty. Between individuals, failure to repay loans may lead to recrimination and hostility.

Most most crimes and misdemeanors are discovered in Lower Post, which is in British Columbia, justice is largely administered by provincial officials. Punishable offenses discovered by the police do not generally lead to an open statement of arrest nor is the individual given his liberty under bail, since to announce arrest leads to the danger that the offender will remove himself from the community. Within three or four days following the offense, word circulates through the town that the magistrate will hold court in the afternoon. The policeman then informs those Indians, who have been "under arrest," that their trial is due that day.

According to provincial law all offenses, other than major crimes, regardless of the plea of the defendant, may be tried by a civil magistrate without a jury. For some years cases have been tried by elderly white prospectors, but in 1945 the police constable from Fort Nelson several times flew to Lower Post to act as magistrate. All hearings are conducted in English. Court is held in the Hudson's Bay Company's bunkhouse which is normally reserved for white trappers. A few Indians serve as seats for visitors, while the accusing

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

609 would add by way of explanation was: "He lies." Later Richard added that he would not
578 associate with Edward for fear of imperiling his friendship with age mates. Even older
571 children show characteristic behavior toward companions from other districts. When
186 Donald Sam first appeared in Lower Post, after fourteen years spent at Frances Lake, a number of youths approached and inspected him, calling him: "Stranger." They then threatened to hurt him. Donald remained submissive. An hour or two later the same boys had fully accepted the visitor. In these attitudes and behaviors toward members of contiguous and mutually intelligible Kaska tribes we see the beginnings of the ethnocentrism which will be discussed in connection with intergroup relations. In a last analysis the true ingroup among the Kaska is probably the nuclear family.

578 Any overt expression of hostility in quarrels and ingroup violence is rare. When people
183 are sober there is consistency between ideals and behavior so far as the control of aggression is concerned. Even the possibility of inviting quarreling is forestalled by the fact that many people are quick to flee from any such threatening situation. Although one or two dominant and assertive men appear more ready to face disharmony, in general the pattern for both sexes is rigorously to suppress and ignore all open expression of hostility.

Intoxication sometimes alters this picture. In this condition, a number of men show readiness to revive old grudges and air antagonisms without fear of provoking violence. In English, the drunken quarrelers hurl insults replete with obscenity at one another in an attempt to provoke an initial act of violence. Before the mounting hostility can reach this level, women with their young children have generally retreated to a safe distance. Often
578 the provocations to violence remain unaccepted by either party, and the quarrel peters out
579 in a last disgusted exchange of insults. Sometimes, however, the challenge is taken up and
183 blows begin to be exchanged. While fists are used at first, this form of fighting soon yields to wrestling, the aim being to throw the opponent and then choke him into surrender. Weapons of any kind were never observed to be employed in quarrels. Sometimes a woman will try to separate two men who are fighting, but generally women are too timid to venture close. Old Man was rather outstanding among men for his consistent tendency to forestall aggression at beer drinks; he also broke up many fights. Antagonism following such quarrels is rarely prolonged, although the resentment may continue covertly and motivate additional aggression during a subsequent drinking party. Sometimes in intoxication a bullying type of behavior appears. Louis Maza once manifested such behavior when he asked Nitih, a very pacific youth, to wrestle him. Nitih immediately declined. Louis then rudely took away a dipper of coffee which Nitih was drinking, but again the latter displayed no emotion. Turning his attention elsewhere, Louis picked up a nearly empty tea pot and emptied the grinds on Edward Prince, at the same time winking to the ethnographer. Edward ignored the slight and remarked: "Must be running." Only an hour or so previously, when both had been much drunker, Edward and Louis had quarreled hotly, but now Edward was sobering up and refused the implicit challenge evident in Louis' behavior.

578 Family life is not characterized by quarreling. Ideally a man feels entitled to beat his
593 wife if he suspects that she has been untrue to him, but not all men avail themselves of this permitted behavior. Several husbands (including Hess Donnelly, Edward Prince, and Louis Maza) are noted for aggression toward wives when intoxicated. One such quarrel was ob-

1: Honigmann\ E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

toward promiscuity, was reported to have been beaten "just like dog" by her mother, who 836
herself has a widespread reputation for past promiscuity. Parents, however, are often willing to condone some premarital sexual experience in older daughters if it avoids promiscuity and leads to marriage. There are few if any unmarried girls above seventeen who can be regarded as virgins or who conduct themselves in such a way as to discourage sexual advances.

Several factors are responsible for this hiatus between ideal and manifest. The first is 836
the delayed age of marriage in the contemporary society. In the past, when the ideals of 183
premarital morality were originally formulated, marriage for girls occurred within a year or two after menarche; now it is often postponed until eighteen or nineteen years of age. Secondly, the post-pubescent girl is often given considerable autonomy and independence, parents relaxing supervision in the face of the girl's demand for such freedom. In the past this relaxation of control would have been correlated with the young woman's adult status and channelized in marriage. If supervision is maintained into late adolescence it is resented by the girl; sexual promiscuity may then be a means of expressing revolt and independence. Finally, most of the parents of adolescents were themselves raised under social conditions similar to those obtaining today, and a great number have borne children out of wedlock. These facts are known to girls, and probably help to undermine parental sanctions.

Despite the fact that premarital promiscuity is disapproved of, girls who manifest such 836
behavior are not ostracized or avoided by other members of the society. In 1944, when a number of girls were almost nightly accepting truck rides with soldiers, one or two older men sought to remonstrate with some of these young women. The girls resented this interference, one telling Old Man that her activities were none of his business. Another girl, June Berre, accused him of having done the same things in his youth. River Joe often criticized his brother's daughter, Irene Wiley, for her promiscuity, and unsuccessfully advised her to marry. To the ethnographer Joe complained of this girl who, refusing marriage, nevertheless would not live alone. "Maybe she look for husband, but don't think so," he said. "Anyway, none of my business." Despite his criticism of Irene's behavior, River Joe never refused to feed or shelter the girl and often expressed concern about her poor appetite.

Two types of extramarital sexual relations may be distinguished in Kaska society, 837
adultery and permissive sexual relations. Unfaithfulness in marriage is probably more common among men than women, since married women only rarely have an opportunity of meeting lovers under suitable conditions of privacy. Adultery is condemned when it occurs in either spouse and frequently leads to quarrels. It is also reported to be not uncommon for a man to beat an adulterous wife, although aggression between a husband and wife's lover is rare and apparently avoided. A woman who sleeps with a married man fears the jealousy and hate of the wife and dreads provoking the latter to physical violence. In general unmarried girls tend to avoid the sexual overtures of married men. Children born from a wife's [851]
adulterous relationship are frequently rejected by the husband.[9]

Permissive extramarital sexual relations are unformalized and any evidence of such behavior is carefully guarded, particularly from white people. Wife exchange is sometimes reciprocally arranged between two married men who are good friends or partners. In such

[9] See below, p. 177.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

Status of women. An adequate picture of the status of women in Kaska society must include consideration of several interdependent factors. These include the ideal attitudes of men regarding women, manifest behaviors of men toward women, and women's attitudes and behaviors toward men. 562

Ideally men recognize no intrinsic difference in intelligence between the sexes. On the other hand, by virtue of his activities, a man regards himself as superior to a woman. Because he traps and hunts, and through these activities supports a woman, he is "better" than she is. Old Man, who refused a direct answer to the question of which sex was superior, somewhat obliquely pointed out that a man who has lost his wife can be independent of a woman, making his own snowshoes, moccasins, and so on. Sexual antagonism of men is sometimes betrayed in derogatory remarks about women. Such remarks are: "He's just like woman," or "He's worse than woman." 562 183

Manifestly we find a woman to be economically dependent on a man although not necessarily on her husband. In marriage men perform the principal economic routines, supplying the household with most consumer and capital goods. It is interesting to note, however, that many men are reluctant to hunt or trap for long periods without the company of their wives. Old Man's statement that a widower can get along without a wife is belied by the events in his own life; he became emotionally upset, suicidal, and alcoholic following the death of his second wife and has been married three times. Such observations offer convincing proof of the fact that men are not content to live alone. Rather, a mature man's existence without a wife is sometimes characterized as "being hard time." Women, on the other hand, show a greater readiness to live independently and, as widows, do not show the eagerness to remarry which is revealed by men. A widow, perhaps with the aid of a daughter or sister, often becomes economically self-supporting, hunting moose and trapping as well as tending to female allocated duties. The woman's greater capacity for independence is probably related to the fact that men rarely do women's work, while as children women are in a position to learn many of the duties of the opposite sex and are better prepared to be self-sufficient. Matrilocal residence in marriage also operates to reduce both a woman's emotional and economic dependence on her husband. Finally, the status of women is further benefited by the fact that the society does not restrict a woman's activities by limiting them. Despite the fact that she may have several children, a woman will often move camp several times a year, accompany her husband traveling, and generally show no sign of being tied down or frustrated in a wide range of behavior. This freedom gives her opportunities to gain further knowledge of male allocated techniques and routines which may someday be useful and thereby lowers her degree of dependence. 562 155

We do not, however, find any pronounced reflection of a woman's potential independence and self-sufficiency in her marital relationship. Although in most families a wife is consulted before her husband makes any major decisions, there are few women who display dominant or matriarchal characteristics although sometimes a man's ineffectualness leads his wife to assume a firm command over family matters. Women generally reveal passive and compliant personalities and are willing to follow the lead of their husbands. 562 156

The expression of masculine striving in some girls seems to reflect a discontent with the less prestiged, more unexciting activities of women. Several such expressions were col- 562 157

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

812 829 same experience nor identical traditions, there follows the readily accepted assumption that the world contains different kinds of knowledge and different truths.

814 Despite the fact that the Indian lacks the ability to formulate ideas in strict chronological sequence (we have already referred to the difficulties experienced in securing chronological life histories), he may be credited with a historical sense. Examples of native history have been presented in reporting the traditional ideas of Kaska origins and the memories of life in the aboriginal society. This material is distinguished by its static, rather than dialectic quality, no attempt being made to relate the events which are described. As pointed out in connection with acculturation, the Kaska are not attracted to the past. There is relatively little interest in hearkening back to aboriginal times, certainly no sentimentalism. Only occasionally will a contemporary incident move some man to describe the event as similar to behavior which was commonplace in former days. Such historical attitudes promise that in one or two more generations the ability to report "old fashioned" life will have entirely disappeared.

ETHICS

577 183 Ethically and morally, as well as philosophically, the Kaska are inclined to be relativists, particularly when non-Indian behavioral norms are discussed. Thus people asked the ethnographer if it was true that white people sometimes married their parallel cousins, whom the Kaska classify as siblings. An affirmative answer met with no criticism or repugnance. Moral relativism is noted chiefly in connection with marital and sexual behavior; aggression and lack of generosity are not so tolerantly regarded. In the latter fields, the Indians tend to recognize more absolute values. Thus the second World War appeared to confuse many informants, and local traders are often criticized for neglecting to meet the Indians' standard of generosity.

The Kaska express the same theoretical conflict between free will and determinism that is familiar to students of western society. As evidence of determinism we may cite the fact that a person is thought to be bad because he has "bad blood." This evil disposition is inherited, so that an evil man produces evil children. Opposing these ideas is the belief that an evil person can be taught to control his behavior. It is possible too for a good man to produce bad children, since it is often through error that good people commit evil—they "make mistake." Although this conflict between free will and determinism comes out in interviews, in everyday life there is little question of the moral accountability of the individual.

Abstract ethical ideals, like righteousness and justice, have little meaning for the Indian. When forced to concern himself with formulating ideal conceptions of human nature, he is primarily concerned with such concrete individual and social virtues as generosity, industriousness, pacificity, courage, skill, and (in women) marital chastity.

888 577 183 The ideal man is first of all generous. He gives good gifts and helps out a friend who is in need of food or of some capital goods like traps or cartridges. A good man is not pugnacious or "mean"; he is disinclined to unfriendly gossip and hypocrisy, nor does he seek to exert authority. He avoids talking unfavorably about his friends, is not cranky, and will not fight unless unduly provoked. Putting these traits more positively, virtue may be recognized in a pleasant disposition. A good man is ready to laugh and eager for fun. When he drinks he enjoys himself, but "he don't fight nothing." Finally, the ideal male reflects industry. He is,

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

as Nitla explained, a "good trapper. He watch his trap line. Every two days he look his traps, fix his traps. He hunt too." He keeps his house well supplied with meat, wood, and grub. The ideal man shows courage without being foolhardy. "Somebody fight him, he tell him: 'Don't fight.' He save his life that way." Associated with the idea of courage is the ability to withstand discomfort. A good man must be "tough," able to travel long distances on foot, while bearing up under cold and hunger. In his ideal proportions a man shows skilfulness; he traps well; can make necessary tools, apparatus, and vehicles, and undertake a variety of repairs. Male informants did not report marital faithfulness as an ideal masculine virtue.

The primary qualifications for the ideal woman are faithfulness, thrift, industry, and skill. "You got a good woman," Nitla explained, "He can't leave you. Me, I want him. [If] I teach that girl: 'You leave him, that fellow'—that kind of woman no good. Good woman—try, try I get him—he don't want me. That number one woman. Smart woman." Not only does the concept of marital faithfulness include an absence of extramarital promiscuity, but it also denotes a wife's devotion to her husband, her care for his welfare and comfort. A woman's thrift also reflects her virtue. Thus Old Man often praised his wife for the manner in which she earned money by trapping and selling her own fur, saving the proceeds. So far as a woman's industriousness is concerned: "Good woman wash clothes, do something, cook anything. Fix the plates. Damn number one woman. That woman just the same queen. She catch fur too. She help her man. Best one." Feminine virtue includes skill. A good woman can cook well, trap effectively, lace good snowshoes, and make outstanding moccasins and clothes. A skilful industrious woman will not visit around too often but spends most of her time keeping her camp in order. Courage is not valued in a woman. Generosity, with those objects which a woman controls, and absence of aggression are further female virtues. An ideal woman may drink, but in doing so she "look after her man; wouldn't bother another man. Just talk fun."

RELIGION

Religious beliefs are of minor importance in Kaska life and the culture includes no religious ceremonials beyond the Mass and other introduced Catholic devotions. The general conception of the supernatural consists of an imposition of Christian (Catholic) attitudes on vague and disappearing elements of native belief. Both the Christian and the aboriginal elements are loosely comprehended, although an attempt has been made in the mission schools to formulate Christian beliefs in children. The general orientation of the religion tends to place all natural phenomena, including human life, in a universe controlled by supernatural agencies or "bosses." Since the techniques for soliciting this supernatural power are little stressed the individual—as well as all of nature of which he is part—would seem to enjoy a kind of fatalistic existence. This deduction is partly belied by the fact that the relative absence of supernatural supplication does not stem from attitudes of fatalism, but rather from an empirically grounded idea that in everyday things the individual's persistence and activity must also be counted on to solve problems of living.

Three main orders of the supernatural environment are distinguished by the Kaska. The first of these contains the executive agencies of natural phenomena—the "bosses" of the